584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [177] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to

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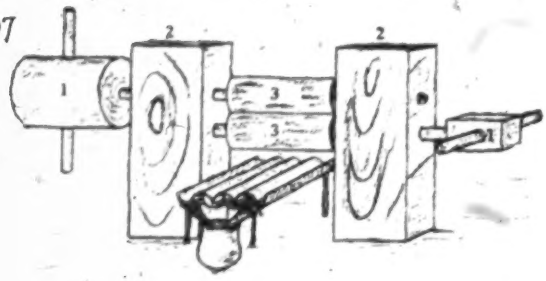

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

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their godchild nor protect him if he becomes orphaned, but this is only because closer members of the same lineage take care of him. But the padrinos must attend the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In these communities, compadrazgo constitutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

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The political and religious patern is the same throughout all the Tzeltal communities, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local government and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state. These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

Age-sex distribution of drinking

Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

mother's house, find a wife for a grown son, or find an unattached female relative to live with him.

Traditional agricultural and pottery production contained within household units has limited specialization and the formation of classes. Whatever exceeded consumption needs was absorbed in a ceremonial fund that served to maintain existing standards. The aim of production was to maintain a given level of "poverty and suffering" as they said in prayers of thanksgiving. These old standards are no longer adequate. Family budgets reflect a range of alternatives requiring an increasing amount of cash expenditure on goods made outside of the community. Because of land limitations, these new preferences are met by wage labor rather than increases in the size of the farm. The new enterprises discussed in the following chapter provide the income streams which are disrupting the present distribution of wealth and the social system based on it.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
591 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alamantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eighteen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier families tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorrigible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particular, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer expected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and animals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their possessions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

(e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

591 605 man in Aguacatenango, he is living with his brother, because the mother's sister's son is relatively of the same age, and terminologically he is classified as such. From the point of view of Aguacatenangueros, therefore, this man is living in a fratrilocal setting, although not according to the preferential choice of selecting an agnatic kin (i.e., agnatic grandparents or his own elder brother), if the person's own parents are dead and thus are not available.

TABLE 12

591 •736 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: EX-MARRIED INDIVIDUALS[a]

Living in Type	Cases	Percentage
Filiolocal	6	60
Filialocal	2	20
Fratrilocal	1	10
Nepotilocal	1	10
Total	10	100

[a]E.g., widows, widowers and divorced cases.

Widows should go back to their natal households except when their male children are old enough to support the economic demands of the family, that is, when the sons can cultivate enough corn for the year's supply. In such cases, the woman holds the property rights of the house, until her children marry, at which time she becomes a widow living in her child's household (filiocal residence).

Filiolocality is no exception to the previously stated rules, but the complementary form in widowhood, of primary male

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

613 476 626 627 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case 613 736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to 613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife, 837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the 428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 423 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Ejido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both ejido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

•736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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593 [526] A man whose brother is accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother. because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement [536] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] [518] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 578 538 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
562 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.
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The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to [606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop- [736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
422 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
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Case 3

[431] When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and